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ABSTRACT

In an effort to examine the effects of institutional racism on Native American preschoolers, a modified version of the Porter doll play and storytelling test was administered to 117 American Indian children (aged 3-5 1/2 years) and a control group of 95 white children comparable in age and geographical distribution. Separated into sub-groups indicating pre-school environmental differences, the Native American sample was derived from: urban white-oriented communities (N=21); reservations with white teachers and Native American aides (N=75); and reservations having no preschool facilities so that the children did not attend preschool (N=21). Employing two sets of dolls differing only in racial representation, a storytelling game was conducted wherein the children selected from a pair of matched dolls, one doll to represent each character in the story. Racial preference was measured by the number of times a child selected a doll of his own racial group for a positive stereotype and by the number of times he selected a doll of the other race for a negative stereotype. Results were: American Indian children scored lower than whites on the self-identification measure and on the test of racial preference; reservation children not attending preschool scored considerably higher than children in the other two groups; the difference between reservation non-attenders and urban dwelling attenders was considerably larger than the difference between whites and reservation non-attenders; and reservation attenders scored better than urban attenders. (JC)

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PRE-SCHOOL ATTENDANCE, RACIAL PRIDE, and the NATIVE-AMERICAN CHILD

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This paper examines the relationship between the institutional and cultural environment and the racial identification of pre-school Native American children.

The concepts of institutional and cultural racism have proven useful tools in the macro-analysis of race relations in the United States and to some extent in the area of adult intergroup psychology. Little work has been done on the influence of these factors upon the racial attitudes of minority group children. Through a consideration of the performance of Native American pre-schoolers from three types of social situations on measure of racial self-identification and racial preference, we may gain some insight into the impact of different societal milieux on the racial feelings of one group of minority children.

First, I shall briefly outline some of the characteristics of the general society and of American pre-schools which demonstrate that the world which these children inhabit is indeed characterized by institutional and cultural racism. Then we shall examine data on racial self-identification and racial preference in children from three different pre-school situations, which suggests that the greater the exposure of the child to the white culture and to white-oriented institutions, the greater is his or her tendency to view white as a preferred status. Finally, to explain these findings, we will consider the relationship between the factors of institutional and cultural racism on the one hand and non-conscious ideology on the other and indicate what this portends for the child as an active participant in his or her own socialization.

The World of the Native American Pre-Schooler

Jones has defined institutional racism as ". . . the byproduct of certain institutional practices which operate to restrict, on a racial basis, the choices, rights, mobility, and access of groups of individuals." (15)

Cultural racism exists when racist images permeate the beliefs, norms, and values of the majority group with regard to the minority and when the minority and its accomplishments are misrepresented or ignored by the majority culture. (15) Both of these conditions exist in American society with regard to the Native American group.

To whatever institution we turn -- be it economics, religion, government, or education -- power is in white hands, and discrimination against Native Americans is the norm.

The normal workings of community life have been under the ultimate control of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Few Native Americans have real, political power because even a ruling of the tribal council is subject to BIA veto.

While churches have struggled for Native American souls, there are few Native clergy. Every effort was made historically to eliminate indigenous religion.

General Background

Many Native American pre-schoolers live in poverty. It has been estimated that three-fifths of all Native American families have annual incomes of under $3000, much of it derived from government assistance. (14) Housing on most reservations is over-crowded and lacking in sanitary facilities. (18) Many families must haul water; others -- some estimates run as high as 70 per cent -- must use

contaminated water. Unemployment closely related to lack of educational or vocational attainment, and to poor health, runs over 50% on some reservations. (14, 18) High infant mortality and a younger average age of death also bear mute testimony to the poor life conditions on many reservations. (17, 21) In addition, Native Americans are confronted with white prejudice in the seeking of jobs and in everyday social contact. (2, 20, 24, 25)

There is little doubt that our culture is riddled through with anti-Native-American beliefs and values. The insensitivity with which the Native-American image is treated becomes especially accentuated when we consider how sensitized the American public has become to the Black image. Amos 'n Andy are gone but Tonto continues to "ugh" and "how" his way into the lives of millions of children.

Halloween provides another example. No parent who considers himself a right-minded American would blacken his child's face and give him an Afro wig and calico shirt for trick-or-treating, yet every October 31 the streets fill with children in moccasins, breech-cloths, feathers and war paint. In short, the culture conspires to make a joke or a threat of Native Americans.

A survey of stereotyping cartoons by Kathleen Houts and Rosemary Bahr revealed that Indians, when portrayed, were shown in most cases in feathers and war paint, and were engaged in shooting arrows or other warlike activity. The authors state, "The message they [cartoons] convey is that the Indian in American life is important only as a primitive, historical, bow-and-arrow type who has no place in the modern society." (13)

My own work on the image that television projects of the Native American shows that here, too, the image is one of a warring primitive, with an occasional basket weaver thrown in for "educational" value. In the past year, we have seen only two programs which dealt with a twentieth-century Native American and the problems he faced in white society. Usually the Native American is presented, not only historically, but as THE ENEMY, and in cartoons he is treated with callous humor, in the poorest taste.

Textbooks have long been a prime source of the Native-American image. Bowker, in a content analysis of texts, found that Native Americans, as well as Blacks, are under-represented in mentions in texts on American history, especially considering the role they have actually played in American life. In addition, many of the images were unfavorable and degrading. (6)

Thus, both in the institutional arrangements and in the portrait of role allocation which they present to the Native American child, the superordinate-subordinate relationship between the dominant group and their own people is apparent. A variety of cultural agents also serve to transmit imagery which is unfavorable to Native Americans.

Unfortunately, the strains of institutional and cultural racism are also quite obviously present in the schools as well. Even the pre-school programs such as Head Start, as institutional creations of the dominant society, bear the hallmark of that society.

Pre-School Situations

1. Reservation

The pre-school experience is probably the happiest encounter that the Native American child has with educational institutions. At

this time he or she is performing as well on measures of intelligence and ability as his or her white counterpart. (9, [illegible] The natural zeal of the children has not yet dimmed and the "curriculum" is by nature one which minimizes the cultural differences which later come to be damaging to the child. Head Start and other such pre-school programs have provided children with an opportunity to become acquainted with a wider world through field trips, projects and television, in a reservation situation where often only the school has electricity.

Perhaps as important have been the contributions that such programs have made to the physical well-being of Native American youngsters. On reservations where childhood disease has only recently come under control, innoculations and medical check-ups have been a tremendous help. Dental care and training in hygiene have also bettered the health of small reservation children. On some reservations over one half of the population may rely on food stamps or surplus foods for survival. The diets in such locations are often protein-poor and carbohydrate-rich. Thus, the nutritious meals which have been a part of many pre-school programs have been, literally, life-saving. (27, 28, 29, 30)

However, even at this stage, there are problems for Native American children in the school setting.

Attendance may be sporadic because the purpose of the pre-school has not been made clear to the parents. They may not feel much pressure to get the children to school every day in the belief that "all they do there is play and they can play at home". Absenteeism is also caused by illness. Poor housing, the lack of central heating, absence of refrigeration and the prevalence of insects all combine to cause a good deal of gastro-intestinal disease. Respiratory infections,

especially middle-ear infections, are very common, as are household accidents which can keep a child out of school for many days, making it hard to return and "catch up".

For many Native American children, the pre-school may represent the first contact with English. Language problems may thus become an issue at an early age, as a person may find even the Cookie Monster hard to concentrate on if she can't understand a word he says. (8)

Much of the material used at this level has little relevance for reservation children. (8) The suburban world of Dick, Jane and Spot is foreign territory. So, for that matter, is the world of the great inner city, with its tall buildings and absence of trees and plains. One entire classroom of youngsters was completely confused by the use of materials depicting New York City. The teacher was eager to press on to innovative social-studies use of the material but the children were still trying to figure out how people climbed up to the higher stories of the buildings. As there was no reservation electricity and no two-story buildings, explaining elevators took a long time, and since that used up the time allotted to the materials, that was as far as they proceeded.

Alaskan children are often presented with pictures of animals and terrain which they will never see in their entire lifetimes!

This is a time when teachers as role models are very important to the child. Almost every child admires his or her teacher more than anyone else except his or her parents. Yet there are few Native Americans in positions of authority in the schools. Many of the Head Start projects had white teachers. An effort was made to compensate for this

by employing large numbers of Native American aides in the schools. This side-stepped the issue of placing Native Americans in authoritative positions.

The white teachers who serve reservation communities are rarely well versed in tribal culture and are thus prone to mistakes in interaction that can alienate a child from school at an early age. (4, 5, 6) The classic example is that of the white teacher who forced a Navajo child to wash sacred marks off his arms (too much cleanliness). The marks had been put there by a medicine man during a ceremony held for the child's ailing baby sister. Shortly after the forced washing, the baby died. No member of that family would attend the school after that. There are programs designed for teachers, to teach them about the people with whom they are working, but few avail themselves of the opportunity to take such courses. (7)

2. Urban

The urban child has many of the same problems as his or her reservation counterpart. Illness, language problems and the lack of Native American role models may be even more pronounced in the city than in the country, especially for the new arrival. The urban Native American youngster confronts a cluster of difficulties unknown to the reservation child, which have to do with racial membership and self-esteem. Other children may taunt and tease the Native American child, pulling on a full media-learned repertoire of racial stereotypes. Name-calling is common and fights break out. Teachers may not handle racial incidents when they occur, or may ignore the racial component of an incident, treating it "just like any two kids in a fight". (4)

Teachers may themselves be prejudiced. Unlike reservation teachers, who have chosen to work with Native Americans, these teachers have probably never entertained the thought of Native American students until a couple of them appear in the classroom. (12) Some teachers overtly support the racism of the white students, as the teacher who says to a white child, "That's okay, you don't have to sit next to him /Indian child/." Other teachers may simply ignore their Native American students, going a full academic year without ever addressing them personally. Still others make an effort at cordiality, only to give themselves away in their reluctance to touch a Native American child. Some really come to love and respect their Native American pupils.

Another problem which is quite real often goes unnoticed. This is the use of the Native American image in the pre-school curriculum. Last year, while I was investigating the attitudes of white children about Native Americans, I began examining classroom decor, texts, story books and games with regard to their treatment of the Native American group. I recommend this experience to anyone who is genuinely interested in the education of Native American children. Some of the things a person may find are: texts which depict Native Americans either as frightening savages or as dumb but amusing children of nature (in all cases, Native Americans are depicted as part of a past era -- not part of the twentieth century); decals of naked Native Americans brandishing tomahawks for use on windows and rocking chairs; armed Native Americans as the central figures of large-piece picture puzzles; and one unique teaching device, a set of loin-clothed Native Americans on a rack for use as a counting teacher (the child knocks them down as he or she counts them!). Children are being exposed to these images of the

Native American group on a daily basis, and Native American children are among them.

Because of the small number of Native Americans, it often happens that the Native American city child finds that he or she is "one of a kind," the only member of the group in a class. There is some evidence that four- and five-year-old Native Americans seek to identify themselves as white and to associate white with positive stereotypes. This is especially true for urban Native Americans who, because of their extreme minority status and in view of the contempt in which that group may be held by those around the child, may seek to identify with the majority group. (5, 6)

The urban child's poverty may impose a greater burden than the reservation child's, for the reservation children are like one another. The urban child may be especially embarrassed by poor and/or inappropriate clothing and may even seek to stay away from the "most important" school days -- Spring recital, Valentine's Day (do you remember how essential it was to have something green for St. Patrick's Day, even if you weren't Irish?) because of shame over clothing. This is a beginning of a problem which plagues Native American students up to and sometimes into college.

In summary, the pre-school presents the Native American pre-schooler with white cultural biases, language and cultural differences from their teachers (and in the urban case, their classmates), lack of relevance of materials which may create a problem of racial self-esteem.

Method

The technique employed was a replication of the Porter doll play and story telling test, developed to study the attitudes of black and

white pre-schoolers in Boston during the 1960s. The test was modified to some extent to create situations with which the American Indian children could better identify. Specific respects in which the test was changed are discussed elsewhere in detail. (4, 5)

This technique is especially suited for work with young children because it involves them in play with the dolls and gives them freedom to move about. The equipment -- small dolls and sets of furniture -- is colorful and holds their attention and interest throughout the half-hour interview, thus helping to prevent superficial or disinterested responses.

Our subjects were 117 Native American pre-schoolers (ages 3 - 5½) and a control group of 95 white youngsters. The control group was selected to resemble the Native American group in pre-school age and geographical distribution.

The Native American children in the sample can be separated into sub-groups according to the type of pre-school situation in which they find themselves. Twenty-one of them are in urban white-oriented communities, attending white schools. Seventy-five are reservation children who are attending schools with white teachers and Native American aides. These schools utilize materials which were designed for the majority culture. Twenty-one children are reservation children who have no pre-school facilities on their reservation and thus do not attend a school. Within the Native American group, the effects of school attendance was also examined.

In the test, small flexible dolls, half of which were fair-skinned and blond and the other half light-brown-skinned and dark-haired with slightly upturned eyes, were paired by dress. Each pair was dressed differently from every other pair. The child was involved in telling a story with the interviewer, employing the dolls and two doll house sets, one a school with tables, desks and blackboard and the other a simply furnished living room. Two stories were told -- one utilizing each of the sets. The child's part of the story telling "game" was to select from a pair of matched dolls (whole only difference was race) one doll to play each character in the stories told by the interviewer. Racial preference was measured by the number of times a child selected a doll of his own racial group for a positive stereotype of selected a doll of the other race for a negative stereotype. A child was given a score of +1 for a choice that reflected either positive feelings about his own race or negative feelings toward the other race. For example, suppose in the story we ask the child to pick the doll who is the "lazy and stupid" girl in the story. An Indian child, who selected the white doll in this instance, would receive a score of +1; if he selected the Indian doll, he was scored zero. As there were eight questions which tapped the preference aspect of the children's attitudes, the highest possible score would be +8. To facilitate comparison with the Porter data, the "perference scores" were collapsed into three categories -- "high" or 3 for children who scored +7 or +8, "medium" or 2 for those who scored between +4 and +6, and "low" or 1 for those who scored 0 to +3.

In the case of racial self-identification, the child was told at the beginning of both stories that the protagonist was a girl or boy who looked just like herself (or himself). Those children who correctly identified themselves with a doll of their own race both times were given a score of two (2). Those who misidentified once or both times received a score of one (1). Thus, for a child to be considered a correct identifier, he had to show a consistent perception of racial membership and willingness to acknowledge that fact. One incorrect choice could not be considered correct as it is indicative of ambivalence on the part of the child.

In addition, extensive field notes were taken on each interview and the child's play with the equipment described.

Results

Native American children scored lower than whites on the self-identification measure and also on the test of racial preference. But, more interestingly, there are differences between Native American children from the different environments. Children who are reservation-dwellers and do not attend a pre-school score considerably higher than children in the other two groups on racial self-edentification items, and to a lesser extent also in the preference test. Indeed, concerning racial self-identification, the difference between reservation non-attenders and urban dwelling attenders is considerably larger than the difference between whites and reservation non-attenders. (Tables I and II)

It is also apparent that the reservation dwelling attenders, while scoring less well than the reservation non-attenders do better than the urban attenders.

TABLE I

Comparison of Racial Self-Identification in White Children and Native American Children in Three Different Pre-School Situations

Subject	N.	Mean Self-Identification Score
White	95	1.60
Reservation, non-school	21	1.50
Reservation, pre-school, white teachers	75	1.39
Urban Native, pre-school, white teachers	21	1.33

TABLE II

Comparison of Racial Preference in White Children and Native American Children in Three Different Pre-School Situations.

Subjects	N.	Mean Preference Scores
White	95	1.90
Reservation, Non-School	21	1.68
Reservation, Pre-School, White Teachers	75	1.61
Urban, Native American, Pre-School, White Teachers	21	1.57

Thus, the more exposed the child is to white institutions, especially the schools and to the messages they convey about the social world, the less likely he or she is to view Native American status favorably. Why is this?

Discussion

Institutional-Cultural Racism

Institutional racism, the reader will recall, was defined in an earlier chapter as "the by-product of certain institutional practices which operate to restrict on a racial basis the choices, rights, mobility and access of groups of individuals." (15) This "restriction" functions to keep minority-group persons in overall life conditions inferior to whites. It is augmented by discriminatory treatment of the group by the culture. Our discussion of the world in which the Native-American child lives certainly indicates that that world is one characterized by institutionalized racism. To compound these structural factors, the culture -- books, comics, texts, television, movies -- all convey the image of the Native American as a past-tense savage or an "intuitive," naive child of nature. The Native-American youngster as well as the majority child is exposed to this culture.

Non-Conscious Ideology

The concept of institutional racism is closely related to the concept of a non-conscious ideology -- a term coined by psychologist Deryl Bem. (3) In the formation of a non-conscious ideology, all of an individual's reference groups concerning a social object (or a group of people) "give off" the same set of messages concerning the nature of that social object (or that group of people). No contradictory message

intrudes upon this unfortunate consistency to make the individual question the accuracy of the image he or she has received. The following quotation from Bem's work makes clear the connection between institutional racism and the formation of a non-conscious ideology:

> But what happens if all his [an individual's] reference groups agree, when his religion, his family, his peers, his teachers and the mass media all disseminate the same message? The consequence is a non-conscious ideology, a set of beliefs and attitudes which he accepts implicitly, but which remains outside his awareness because alternative conceptions of the world remain unimaginable. (3)

Non-conscious ideologies and their formation are tied to institutional racism because it is through the consistency of the racial hierarchy so visible in white institutions and the consistency of the presentation of minority groups by the cultural transmitters that a society is able to disseminate a distorted picture of what the world and the characteristics of its various inhabitants are "really like." To the extent that minority groups remain unrepresented in major roles in our institutions and are misrepresented by the culture, the ability of those in our society to envision an alternative arrangement to our present system of racial inequality is impaired. The connection between institutional racism and non-conscious ideology becomes clearer if, keeping the definition of institutuional racism in mind, we ponder what Bem goes on to say:

> A society's ability to inculcate this kind of ideology into its citizens is the most subtle and most profound form of social influence. It is also the most difficult kind of social influence to challenge because it remains invisible. (3)

Certainly, we have seen, the ability of American society to inculcate negative ideology concerning the Native-American group has gone virtually unchallenged.

Bem goes on to apply this concept to stereotypes of women in our society, indicating the extent to which all social sources communicate the idea that women are not only "different" through some mysterious natural law, but that their only route to happiness and self-fulfillment lies in marriage, children and "living for" others. One point which Bem raises in this regard, which is pertinent to our discussion of racial attitudes, is that it is not only men who come to believe these things about women through continuous exposure to these stereotypes, but <u>women</u>, too, come to believe them. (3) Thus, we should not be surprised to find Native Americans being raised in the midst of a white-controlled society, exposed to white education and white media (i.e., institutional racism) who assimilate the non-conscious ideology of white supremacy. It is important to note that the corner-stone of non-conscious ideology is the <u>consistency</u> with which the messages are conveyed by all of the individual's reference groups, and that a dissident reference group can drive a wedge in this consistency which leads the individual to question the accuracy of the ideology. This can help us to understand those Native Americans who <u>do not</u> come to accept the non-conscious ideology of which superiority. If one is a member of a sub-culture which is strong enough to laud its own values over those of the whites, if one's parents emphasize the old traditional ways, or if one is a member of a peer group which stresses Native Americanism, a wedge is driven into the consistency of non-conscious

ideology, and it becomes possible to reject the image of one's group which has been propagated by many white-controlled reference groups.

This explanation places much more emphasis on (1) social institutions, statuses and roles; and (2) the child as an <u>active learner</u> of the social map. Most explanations of the formation of children's attitudes, operate on the assumption that the child has learned about race through some sort of <u>experiences</u>. This has the effect of making it appear that the absence of harmful racial incidents in a child's life would render the child free of an unfavorable view of his or her own race. It also sees the child as a passive receptacle into whom knowledge is being poured by external agents -- as a <u>reactor</u> to rewarding or punishing situations rather than as an active participant in his or her own life. Yet we must consider the child as actor/learner to fully comprehend the development of racial attitudes. Regarding the child as actor/learner of sex roles, Kohlberg writes:

> Regardless of ultimate findings in parent-child sex-role correlates, the specificity of the correlations already established indicates that very generalized reinforcement and identification mechanisms do not in themselves provide an adequate explanation for the development of sex-role attitudes in children. These correlations become intelligible only when we interpret them in terms of the common or "natural" sex-role concepts, values and identifications of children of a given age and sex. The development of these concepts and values, however, can be explained in terms of basic cognitive-developmental trends and processes. . . . (16)

The same could be said of racial roles. The child does not learn about racial status through reward and punishment, nor necessarily through parental instruction, but rather <u>observes</u> racial differences in his or her own attempts to organize the world and to incorporate in

in his or her mind his or her own body image in its many aspects. The child's mind is the mill; institutional racism and non-conscious ideology determine and limit the grist. To illustrate the independent role of the child's cognition in the acquisition of racial attitudes, let us consider the free-play behavior of our Native American subjects.

Many reservation children attending pre-schools created school scenes in their free play with the dolls. All of them used a predominance of brown dolls for the pupils, but without exception they all used white dolls for the "teacher." This is not too surprising if we consider that all of them had white teachers, but it was a bit perplexing because many of the classrooms had several Native-American women who were assistants to the teachers. I had thought, and I'm sure many of the policy makers had thought, that this was a way of providing adult Native Americans in desirable roles for the children to emulate. Why, then, hadn't the children placed some brown-teacher dolls in their dramas? The answer came to me through the help of a five-year-old boy, Dom, with whom I had this conversation.

Dom (holding up white doll): "The children's all here now the teacher's coming in."

Interviewer: "Is that the teacher?"

Dom: "Yeah."

Interviewer (holding up a brown doll): "Can she be the teacher?"

Dom: "No way! Her's just a aide."

The presence of Native-American women had not for a minute prevented this child from a full comprehension of the real power relations that existed in his school. He knew who was running the show.

These examples reveal to us the amazingly accurate grasp that children gain of the prevailing social hierarchies in our society through observation.

The three groups of Native American children can be regarded as standing at different points along a spectrum of exposure to the non-conscious ideology of the inferiority of Native Americans which is transmitted by white culture and white institutional arrangements. The urban youngsters are saturated with the cultural message. The pre-school adds to the image that is presented by other institutions and by the white media, especially television. The combination of all of these factors certainly marks the beginning of the formation of a non-conscious ideology.

Reservation children attending pre-schools are in a somewhat different situation. They are exposed to white images in the school, but may still be receiving countervailing messages from parents, peers or elder siblings, which proclaim Native American pride. Thus, while there is some ideological message of white superiority conveyed by one reference group (school), the consistency necessary for a real non-conscious ideology to exist is absent.

Finally, our non-school-attending children may receive some some ethnocentric white views from the general culture via television, for example, but most of the important reference groups are still Native American in their orientation.

The scores of the children on measures of racial self-esteem indicate that the pre-school environment may contribute to a lowering of own-group pride in these children. It is compounded in the urban

situation where no countervailing cultural transmitters can drive wedges into the images conveyed by the schools.

Conclusion and Policy Implications

Being a minority group member poses its problems of self-esteem and racial pride. It is difficult for the Native-American child to maintain either of these when exposed to white-controlled classrooms and white-focused pre-school materials.

SOME SUGGESTIONS FOR CHANGE

What types of solution can we propose that would create a better social and personal milieu in which Native-Americans could freely pursue their educational goals?

Some changes are already occurring, as in the innovative bilingual and bicultural programs, (22) but much remains to be done. Yet educators cannot assume total responsibility for the quantity and quality of social change which must occur, if conditions favorable to educating Native-American people are to exist. Let me, then, set forth two categories of desirable changes, one of which will include those areas over which educators have some control, and the other of which must be accomplished by other sectors of the society.

A. Some Changes in the Schools

1. Materials used in teaching all children should be freed of misrepresentations of the Native-American group. The use of the naked savage image in early education should be stopped. Let them count toes!

2. Testing of Native-American children with biased Princeton

Testing Empire tests should be stopped. Such tests as the Draw-A-Man test are sufficient to separate out severely disturbed or retarded children for special schools. The use and development of culture-free tests should be encouraged. A child's intellectual growth over a given period of time can be determined by a comparison of early work to later work. It takes more time and effort, but it is fairer. After all, it is the steps taken by the child that matters, not where he or she stands on a meaningless national curve.

3. Teachers who are going to teach Native-American children should be required to earn certification in Native-American culture. They should have to take courses and pass tests to attain this certification.

4. More Native-Americans should be employed at all levels (including such prestigious roles as principal and superintendent) of the schools. Scholarships should be made available to Native-American students who wish to become certified teachers.

5. The cooperative ethos of Native American culture should be adapted to the classroom. Teaching techniques which encourage group rather than individual accomplishments should be developed. (32)

6. When racial incidents occur in the classroom, they should be handled immediately. The teacher who ignores such incidents is contributing tacitly to white racism.

7. Greater utilization should be made of funding available for the development of bicultural and bilingual programs for Native-Americans.

8. Schools should provide comprehensive physical examinations. Problems of sight and hearing and of nutrition, which can impair the academic performance of children, would thus be detected early enough in a child's lifetime to be remedied before psychological damage is added to physicel disability. In the same spirit, nutritious hot meals should be provided, free, for all children of poor families.

These are all changes that fall into the educators' domain and which should be promptly implemented.

We cannot place the onus of Native-American problems on the Native-American child; but neither can we place the onus entirely on the schools. The substance of this presentation has made evident the extent to which institutional and cultural factors are to blame for the poor group self image of Native American children in white schools. In this regard several major changes must take place.

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